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POWERFUL MARSHALLING FOR THE VICTORY OF COMMUNISM IN THE USSR
AND IN THE SOCIALISTIC CAMP

by A. Cervinka and D. Rozehnal

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FOREWORD

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Following is a translation of an article by A. Cervinka
and D. Rozehnal in Nova Mysl (New Thought), No 3, March 1960,
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At the present time the building of socialism and communism has become a matter of practical activity of hundreds of millions of peoples. Our entire effort to fulfill repeated new tasks, to overcome barriers placed in our way, to set up new great and brave perspectives, focuses our sight forward to the full victory of socialism -- to communism.

If we think today of the time that has passed since the XXIst Congress of the KSSS (Komunistická Strana Sovetského Svazu -- Communist Party of the Soviet Union), it is not only a look back at what we have accomplished, but rather an effort to make better known the causes which had enabled us to gain such important successes. This period will be entered into history as the first year of a broad buildup of communism in the USSR and as another important year in the final buildup of socialism in Czechoslovakia and in all the other socialist states. This period is distinguished by above average gains of all the socialist states not only in the development of manufacturing potentials and in the bettering of material and cultural standards of the working masses, but also in the development and deepening of socialist democracy and in the great successes of the peaceful foreign policy advocated by the lands of the socialistic system.

In this historical evolution toward the victory of communism the first place belongs undoubtedly to the first land of socialism -- the Soviet Union. In the successful development of the material and technical basis of communism, in the grandiose successes of science pertaining to peaceful use of nuclear energy and the siege of the universe, in the untiring, glorious efforts of the Soviet Union to preserve and strengthen world peace and to remove wars from the lives of nations, all peoples, regardless of race or nationality, have seen and see the fulfillment of their hopes for the building of a just and peaceful social order on our planet.

Our Soviet comrades fully understand this their international duty, and do not spare force in order to strengthen and further develop the all-around successes of socialism and communism. All the basic changes in the balance of power between socialism and capitalism in favor of socialism are due to the fact that the economical potential of the socialistic states includes at present more than 1/3 of world

production, and, that the economy of the socialistic states develops not only at a faster pace but has within the last years surpassed the most developed capitalistic states in absolute gain, and that scientific and technical successes have placed the socialistic countries -- along with their leader -- the Soviet Union -- into the first place in the development of the major courses of world science and technology.

Within the recent years the results of the Soviet economical progress have been truly magnificent. If we were practically stunned by the magnitude of economical tasks set up a year ago at the special XXIst Congress of the KSSS, tasks the fulfillment of which will bring the Soviet industry within reach of the production scope of the American industry, the most evolved industry of the capitalistic world, and in which the agricultural production of basic products will surpass American agriculture on per capita basis, then the results of the first year of the seven year plan show that the tasks will not only be fulfilled but will actually be surpassed. The plan for industrial production was surpassed by 3.3% in 1959 and more than 5 billion rubles' worth was produced above the plan. Just this over-production is in its entire scope greater than the whole yearly industrial production of czarist Russia.

The over-fulfillment of the plan provided the country with more than 900,000 tons of steel, 4,300,000 tons of coal, 1,800,000 tons of crude oil, 6,200 million of kilowatthours of electrical energy and a great amount of other products. The first year of the seven year plan showed significant gains also in agriculture. In the past year the milk yield was 5 million tons greater than the entire milk production in the USA for the same period. A basic increase in the state of beef cattle and in the development of the feed basis allowed the December session of the UV KSSS (Ustredni Vybor Komunisticke Strany Sovetskeho Svazu -- Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) to set up a goal of catching up with the US in production of meat and other animal produce already within the course of the seven year plan. The surpassing of the first year plan, along with the opening of more than a thousand of new, large factories, power plants, ore and coal mines, and the successful mechanization of another thousand of various factories, created a basis for the setting up of higher directive numbers for the entire economy than those previously approved by the XXIst Congress of the KSSS for the proposed seven year plan.

The great production gains are also reflected in the growth of living standards. In many branches of heavy industry, the growth of work productivity created conditions for transition to seven hour and six hour work day, which has been successfully introduced. Wages of workers and employees, as well as the revenue of farmers, have increased. Small business turnover has broadened. More than 3 million apartment units were built in the cities and villages just in 1959. The Soviet economic potential is so great that in one year, besides surpassing

other production tasks, it was able to construct housing units for as many people as there are inhabitants in our entire republic.

The glorious Soviet successes in the development of national economy in the first year of the seven year plan show how inexhaustible are the sources of socialistic management. After years of heroic struggle, the socialistic social management, begins to yield its ripe fruit. The Soviet Union entered the decisive stages of economic competition between socialism and capitalism full of creative powers and took, within the last year, a major step forward on the road leading to catching up with and surpassing the economy of the most evolved of the capitalistic states -- the United States of America.

The survey of these results makes us think of the stimulus for this broad effort of the hundreds of millions of Soviet workers who by their initiative and action made these significant gains possible. We know that without a new social order it would not be at all possible today to realize the old desires of humanity for a just and peaceful arrangement of society. Socialistic social order is therefore the objective prerequisite and basis for all the successes of the working peoples. However, because socialism differs from all the preceding social orders also by the fact that society as a whole, mindful of its goals, directs in a planned way its whole economical, public and cultural activity, the conscious, active participation of the masses under the direction of Marx-Leninist parties, acquires a tremendous importance. The historical evolution of human society has today reached a stage when further fates of humanity more and more depend on the rightness of the policies pursued by the communist parties.

The practical question of today is the buildup of communist society. The working class is the most important social force in the struggle for development of a completely classless communist society. This role, which history has given to the working class and to its Marxist-Leninist party, gives the fighters for communism high moral values, and is an expression of a truly humanitarian method as it is understood from the point of view of Leninism. From this springs the moral strength of the workers of the socialist countries which in itself results in great initiative. However, a purely emotional and elemental relation to the communist movement is not sufficient. The responsibility for further fate of humanity demands that a full majority of the citizens of the socialist states master the knowledge of the laws of social development under current conditions. It is because of this that the ideological work of the Marxist-Leninist parties is acquiring such great significance. A life necessity of all the working people, which the communist goals tend to realize, is the study of the communist world view and the mastery of the basic theorems of Marxistic Leninism, both of which allow for deep understanding and correct conduct of the policies of these parties. Today we live in times when the successful development of national economy itself, depends to a great degree on the consciousness of the working

class. Also, the continuous process of gradual transition from socialist statehood to communist self-government, demands increase in the communist consciousness of the workers. Development of the elements of communist self-government leads to a state where the leading method of direction of society acquires gradually the guise of convincing and education the masses. Another necessary stage in the development of society is the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. This stage makes high demands on the communist education of the working peoples. A complete victory of communist ideology, the most progressive, scientific ideology of present times, will not occur by itself. Under the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist parties it is necessary to win the unreconcilable fight against bourgeois ideology and its left-overs in the conscience and actions of peoples.

Successful ideological work of the KSSS since the XXth Congress has overcome the most serious consequences of the cult of personality and has, in the unreconcilable fight against the new evil of revisionism, further advanced the Marxist-Leninist theory of social development. This contributed in a large measure to the development of initiative and action among the millions of workers. Today all people can see from a more detached view the historical significance of the XXth Congress of the KSSS, which, with typical bolshevik openness, has squared with current lacks and defects, and which has set up new, courageous solutions of the most important questions of internal and foreign policy of the socialist states. At that time, after the XXth Congress, the entire reactionary, international front screamed with glee about the impending crash of communist ideas, about the decay of the communist movement. At that time people of little faith began to deviate from the revolutionary movement of workers. This was the period when the strength and conscientiousness of the various revolutionary parties were tested. The Central Committee of KSC (Komunistická Strana Československa -- Communist Party of Czechoslovakia) evaluated at that time the significance of the XXth Congress as a rallying point for a fresh expansion of the forces of communism. The four years that have passed since the XXth Congress have fully justified this evaluation. The magnificent successes of socialism in the world are therefore the result of the historical decisions of the XXth congress later corroborated in measure and scope by the special XXIst Congress of the KSSS. The XXIst Congress of the KSSS which initiated a new epoch in the buildup of communism could therefore on the basis of successful fulfillment of the directives of the XXth Congress, set up further, courageous perspectives for the development of communism. By a thorough usage of the Leninist heritage the most important questions of present day social evolution were profoundly clarified. This allowed for the correct orientation of the practical, economical, political and cultural activity. The working peoples have thus become convinced of the complete rightness of the policy pursued by the party. Their faith in the victory of communism was therefore

strengthened and caused the elemental outbreak of working activity and initiative.

Basic improvements in the governmental systems of the socialist states and the deepening of socialistic democracy were a further source of the growth of initiative among the working peoples. Extension of the legal powers of economical and public offices demanded broader participation of the workers in the direction of economical and public matters. An important part was played in this by the reorganization of the Soviet national economy administration. A creative valuation of the Leninist theory of democratic centralism in the direction of national economy demanded, in the conditions of extensive buildup of communism, a broadening of the rights of the union republics and a centralization of a substantial part of the economical management in the hands of provincial councils on national economy. Thus, without weakening the central direction of the basic proportional relations, economical administration has acquired greater depth in the areas where decisions are made with the knowledge of the specific conditions governing concrete production results, i.e., in the national economical provinces and at the factory level.

The development of worker's initiative was also largely affected by the gradual decrease in the substantial differences between cities and villages. Conditions for closing the gap between the economical status of farmers and the economical status of workers were recently created in the Soviet village by a swift development of agricultural production, by mechanization of the kolkhozes, and by a speedy electrification of villages and kolkhozes. Many facts show that in the first year of the seven year plan greater weight of social economy was placed on the kolkhozes. Thus, in 1959, kolkhozes and sovkhoses participated in the state meat purchase by 83% and in the milk purchase by 92%. Not too long ago, however, the majority of milk and meat was supplied from the private -- on the sideline -- farms of the kolkhoz members. This was not a good phenomenon in a socialistic economy. If substantial changes were accomplished during the past year in this direction, then it is possible to evaluate them as a great victory of the socialist system of social economy in agriculture. It is obvious that as the weight of social economy of the kolkhoz increases its significance in securing the standard of living of the collective farmer also increases, and furthermore, the kolkhoz members are, by the more evolved division of labor, freed from many tasks which in the past they had to perform on their private farms and within their households. Securing the vital necessities from the socialized economy of the kolkhoz further promotes the interest of the farmers in smooth, economical running of the kolkhoz establishments. If it were necessary in the past to develop a material interest in the results of production among the kolkhoz members it is necessary at present, when this problem has been solved, to correlate the amount of reward for kolkhoz work with the amount of reward given to workers in the state factories.

Furthermore, conditions have been created in the kolkhoz economy, for the introduction of a reward system similar to that used in the state establishments. Another example of equalization of the farmer's economical status is the monthly pay corresponding to the amount of work norms fulfilled. Experiences of the leading kolkhozes where this method of remuneration was introduced also show that the interest of the farmer in the increase of labor productivity within the communal economy and in the expansion of indivisible funds has grown, while the importance of private property in securing the farmer's standard of living was decreased. Along with the development of broad inter-kolkhoz connections and bonds, all these steps constitute an important lesson in how to overcome the substantial differences between industry and agriculture, between city and village economy, and how to develop initiative and increase activity among the workers of agriculture.

Significant progress was also achieved in spanning the gap between physical and mental labor. Overcoming of these differences is indivisibly united with the evolution of production forces. Because of this, the remarkable progress in the realization of the complex mechanization of manufacturing processes, allowed for the transfer of many manual, supplementary and unqualified human tasks to machine mechanisms. The development of automation in some of the production orders in several branches of industry replaced many stereotype and mechanically repeated tasks by automatized machinery, in relation to which, man does not act only as a part of the mechanism but rather directs, controls and cares for the manufacturing process. In the past year great strides were made also in the development of the qualifications of the individual workers. Extensive socialist competition as well as the movement of the communist labor brigades constitute part of the aims for broadening and supplementing the education of the individual worker as well as of whole collectives of workers. The great initiative of the working peoples in the struggle for mastery of new techniques and the revolutionary changes in technological processes, resulted in the overfulfillment of the production tasks for the first year of the seven year plan, and transferred itself also into the struggle for higher education of man and for greater qualification of the worker. On the other hand, the working intelligentsia moved toward the closest union of science and research with production practices, toward a free of charge transfer of the results of scientific and technical research to factories and workers, and toward the closest union of education and life in the training of students. An important page in bridging of the substantial gap between physical and mental labor is the development of the elements of communist self-government. Broader participation of workers in the administration of economical and public affairs is an important step forward in the development of socialist democracy. Even in this a great rôle was played in the communist labor brigade movement, because the participants of this movement not only take care of all their

individual tasks but also take initiative in judging and solving various management problems of entire factories and concerns. One of the characteristics of this movement is the transfer of the best workers into groups and unions which are backward and do not reach successes as great in magnitude as are needed from the point of view of overall economy of each factory or concern.

Another of the main methods in the development of socialist democracy is the transfer of some of the state functions to voluntary organizations of workers. In the past year we have therefore seen an increase of trade unions in the provinces of national insurance, work security, work norm assignment, etc. Workers' Courts began to judge some of the minor transgressions formerly handled by the judiciary. Activities of the voluntary people's militia as well as those of the komsomol patrols increased.

Successes of agricultural production made further development of kolkhoz democracy possible. In both the kolkhozes and the soykhozes conditions were created which allowed the basic party organizations to follow the example of the factory organizations and set up managerial committees for the control of the economy of their particular concerns.

The successful bridging of the gap between mental and physical labor provides closer bonds and strengthens the unity between the workers, the kolkhoz farmers and the working intelligentsia. At the same time they also created broad, objective predispositions for the management of public affairs by the working populus, and, therefore bring about its great initiative and activity. The meetings of the highest party and state offices are unusually valuable and important to the strengthening of the creative enthusiasm of the workers. In the past year the communist party paid great attention to the questions which are decisive in the fulfillment of the seven year plan. In June 1959, there already occurred a significant meeting of the UV KSSS which worked out the tasks connected with the overall speedup of technical development in the buildup of a material and technical basis of communism and with the participation of the working masses in this process. Later on, in November, comrade N. S. Khrushchev spoke in the name of the central committee at the all union conference on electrical power buildup, and clarified important parts of the plan for overall electrification of the land as inseparable sections of the party program. Finally, at the very end of last year, the UV KSSS met to deal with questions connected with fulfillment of the tasks of the seven year plan for agriculture before the time set. It is enlightening to note that at the meeting of the central committee, in all speeches, reports and discussions Leninist methods of labor were placed in the foreground. However, even though great gains were achieved, and glowing examples of communist work method were pointed out, much time was given at the meeting to critical review of failings and errors. Pointing out of outstanding examples of communist labor as well as criticism of lagging sectors and existing faults comprise a communist

method for quicker and fuller utilization of all the outstanding elements of the socialist social order. Criticisms and selfcriticisms aimed at work improvement, allow the communist party to be equal to its tasks and to lead the working peoples by its example in the struggle to overcome all deficiencies and hindrances occurring in our path. Very enlightening in this respect are the words of N. S. Khrushchev at the December meeting of the UV KSSS, who, in dealing with the question of criticism and self-criticism, said: "The people will always support you in a just criticism. They will rally closer to the party and by better work they will secure even greater gains in the fulfillment of the tasks set up by the XXIst congress for the buildup of communism."

We can therefore say that in the development of initiative and action among the workers, an important role was played in the Soviet Union, by the last two historical, party congresses, and by the meetings of their highest councils. These were valuable not only from the point of view of correct designation and clarification of new tasks, but also because using the Leninist method of action, they contributed to all the great successes in the development of socialist society.

The entire international evolution of the past years and especially that since the XXIst Congress of the KSSS proves the magnitude of the mobilizing effect exercised by both of the last meetings of the Soviet communists on masses of peoples throughout the entire remaining world.

The XXth Congress of the KSSS renewed in full measure the validity of the Marxist teaching concerning the decisive role of human masses on the stage of history, and, struggling against dogmatic belief, strengthened the effectiveness of Soviet foreign policy. The XXIst Congress of the KSSS, which furthered the conclusions of the preceding congress, namely that wars are not inescapable, has, by teaching the realistic possibility of excluding world wars from the life of human society even before the full victory of socialism on earth, contributed extensively to the struggle for peace. Furthermore, the congress arrived at conclusions concerning a new phase in peaceful competition between communism and capitalism, concerning the full, definitive victory of socialism in the Soviet Union, and concerning the possibility of parallel progress of the socialist states toward communism.

The growing directional effect of the world socialist system on international evolution emanates from all these conclusions of the XXIst Congress of the KSSS. Differing from the past, when the development of international situation depended primarily on imperialism, the present day masses either organized into a powerful socialist camp or supported by it, determine themselves the direction of this development. Its further perspectives and future outlines

can be clearly recognized in the already all pervading changes in international relations which occurred in the short period since the conclusions of the XXist Congress were made known.

As comrade Khrushchev reminded us in his speech at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet USSR on 14 January of this year, we should not consider the changes in favor of socialism and peace occurring on the field of international relations as a flowing, uninterrupted betterment of the situation, but should rather see them as an overall tendency toward lessening of international tension. However, we know that even in preceding years when a hopeful easing of a strained international situation occurred, it was soon followed by a new wave of imperialist "cold war." It is understood that even today the danger of war has not been entirely exorcised; however, in contrast to previous times, the change in the international situation is based on deeper, objective causes, the basic one of which is the qualitative change in the balance of power between socialism and capitalism in favor of socialism.

This change was brought about primarily by the historical successes of the Soviet Union and by the entire world socialist system under its leadership. The outstanding qualities of the socialist system and its superiority to the capitalist system are proved not only by the fact that in the years 1953-1959 industrial production of the Soviet Union increased by 90% while that of the US increased only by 10%, in which in many of the basic branches (coal, steel, iron) the US can show nothing but a 12-16% decline against the 60% gain of the USSR, nor just by the fact of a quadruple gain in the industrial output in all the socialist states within the last five years as compared to the capitalist states, but also by the stunning successes of Soviet science and technology which are beyond quantitative comparison. Nations of the entire world rightly consider these outstanding successes as a concentrated, almost symbolic expression of the superiority of socialism and communism over capitalism. Thus Soviet cosmic rockets have lawfully affected even the international political evolution of the globe.

Not less significant are also the very methods with which the world socialist system achieves gains in its evolution, the speed of which by far exceeds anything achieved under capitalism. These are the methods of international cooperation and reciprocal aid on basis of full equality, methods of respect of national interests and of reciprocal benefits. On the basis of these methods the XXist Congress of the KSSS issued its directive on the gradual equalization of the overall line of economic and cultural level of all the socialist states and on the prerequisites for their parallel and speedy transition to communism. New relationships develop at present with even greater intensity since the directives of the XXist Congress presented the workers of the socialistic states with yet another, revolutionary point of view. These directives assured all the nations of the socialist camp that none of them, regardless how far backward they were

held by former rulers, will have to pay in the future for their own past, and that due to the brotherly aid of other socialist states, namely the Soviet Union, all will begin the transition to a higher phase of communism together, along with the other members of the great family of the socialist camp.

The world socialist system exercises greater and greater influence on contemporary international development not only because of its growing economical strength but also because its moral and political superiority has increased significantly. The latter has increased because it has its origin in a system where the building of socialism is almost completed, because it springs from a womb of a society which is socially, politically and ideologically far more unified than any that ever existed. The internal political unity of each socialist state, the rallying of its peoples round the communist party, is at the same time an important contribution to the unity of the entire socialist camp and to its pacifying international influence.

The change in the development of international relations has therefore its objective causes, the effect of which spurs the working masses to the very action which further sways the change in the balance of power in favor of socialism, and further strengthens the predisposition for a progressive amelioration of the international situation. These are the very predispositions on the basis of which the XXIst Congress of the KSSS stated its conclusions concerning the possible elimination of war from the life of humanity even before the full victory of socialism on earth.

Gradual accomplishment of peaceful coexistence between two social systems which signifies the transition to economical and ideological form of solution of the basic antagonisms of social evolution allows for fuller and still fuller usage of the internal evolutionary rules of the world socialist system and increases its effect on the masses and on the activity of the entire world. On the other hand in the capitalist system the current changes in the international situation bring more and more into the foreground its laws based on antagonistic interests. We are therefore witnessing the collapse of the imperialist experiment in unification of forces which were to have been placed in the service of war preparation.

The deep antagonisms of the capitalist system did not disappear even after the invention of "people's capitalism" which was designed to overcome the attraction of socialism for the exploited working class. Disagreements in capitalist economy are becoming greater. The moment the ineffectuality of present day arms was felt -- and arms production is the mainstay of the overall production of the leading imperialist states -- the centripetal forces of the imperialistic groups came to the fore while their nourishing soil -- "the cold war" began to disappear. In this gradual decay of the colonial system of imperialism even the states which originated on the soil of past colonies and which remain within the capitalist system ally themselves

more and more closely to the decisive power for peace -- the socialist camp -- especially where the basic questions of present day international relations are concerned.

Because the XXIst Congress of the KSSS saw correctly all these objective conditions of further international evolution it was able to map the way in which the objective relation of powers can be further changed by the struggle of humanity in favor of socialism and peace. Because of this, both of the last congresses of KSSS lent such a great strength to Soviet foreign policy, that in the past year it gained outstanding successes by its initiative and action.

Soviet foreign policy has succeeded in getting across the idea of peaceful solution of controversial international issues. This idea was still quite recently rejected by the imperialist powers. As can be seen from recent experiences of Soviet foreign policy, under the given circumstances, the most effective method for improvement of relations between nations and for reaching agreements on so far unsolved international questions, is a policy of personal contact between the representatives of the leading world systems.

Quite extraordinary success was gained by the method of peaceful negotiation through an agreement to call a conference of the chiefs of states around the middle of May. According to this agreement negotiations at the highest level will be systematically repeated in order to overcome the objection that a single meeting after many years would be too risky. The Soviet Union has suggested that the most important issues of current international relations be discussed. These are: general and full disarmament, conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany including the creation of a free city -- West Berlin, ban on atomic and hydrogen weapon tests, and relations between East and West.

However, even though the agreement on more frequent gathering of these conferences means an important reduction of the gulf between western and Soviet views we must not disregard the warning fact that various agents in the West, especially in the United States, place hopes into these high level gatherings which are at cross purposes with the hopes of the peace loving peoples. Systematic meetings of chiefs of states are thus considered to be the means of endless delays in the negotiations, a welcome possibility to hinder the solution of international problems, and finally a way in which the whole idea of top level international negotiations can be discredited in the eyes of the world public.

The Soviet foreign policy, however, mindful of its goals, strides forward with courage and justified optimism to the fight for the cause of all nations, because it leans on a scientific, Marxist-Leninist basis and because it has the support of the broadest masses of peoples and the forces of the socialist camp. From the mesh of international problems it picks out the main points the settlement of which would bring further amelioration of the situation even in other areas.

One of these points has basic significance for future development of international relations; this is the question of disarmament, for the solution of which the Soviet Union has suggested the decisive and grandiose plan presented by comrade Khrushchev at the XIVth meeting of the plenary session of the U.N. The Soviet proposal presents a practical method of realization of the theory of the XXIst Congress of the KSSS concerning the possible elimination of war from the life of human society even before the full victory of socialism in the world. From the time of its presentation this grandiose program has become the most important mainstay of the massive anti-war movement supported by a vast majority of peoples. Thus, at the right moment, the XXIst Congress of the KSSS touched by its directives the lives of entire nations and showed humanity a reliable way of salvation from the destructive terrors of a nuclear war.

Soviet Union as well as all the socialist states are doing everything in their power to get this plan of general and complete disarmament accepted. At the same time the USSR gives an example of the utmost patience and constructive approach in the three power negotiations on the cessation of nuclear tests. All of this is in a sharp contrast to the thoughtless tactics of the United States, whose president announced at the end of the last year of unilateral end of the moratorium on nuclear tests, and to the willful action of France who has fired her first atomic bomb.

While the imperialist governments place themselves cynically on the side of the embittered public opinion stirred by their onesided action and designed not only to cripple the so far promising negotiations in Geneva, to shake people's faith in the possibility of further peaceful development and to slow it down, but also to aid in a doubtful gain in their decreasing political influence, the Soviet Union continues forward in its firm determination to free all the nations of the world from the burden of armament. Thanks to its unconquerable power, the Soviet Union was able to embark upon its own "unilateral action" which differs radically from any the world public has learned to expect from the imperialist powers, since its aim is to prepare the ground for the acceptance of the plan for general and full disarmament and to speed up the way to lasting peace.

The law concerning the manpower reduction of the Soviet armed forces by another third, proves the deep desire for peace, the tremendous power and the true greatness of the Soviet Union with such a conviction that it has become an important factor in the formation of the current world situation. In complete contrast to the last Paris meeting of NATO, where a 10 year program of increased armament was discussed, the Soviet Union gives an example of different approach to this question, namely, as comrade Khrushchev said, an approach not from the standpoint of power politics but from the standpoint of reason.

By this grandiose act the Soviet Union dealt a heavy blow to the imperialist lie concerning its "aggressive intentions," for no country bent on an aggressive military action would lower the numerical state of its armies even if the firepower of the remainder were raised above the original overall level. At the same time, however, comrade Khrushchev precludes any possible explanation of this Soviet step as an expression of economical, political or even military speculation.

He reminds us that the Soviet Union has such a stockpile of nuclear, atomic and hydrogen weapons, and such an excellent rocketry, that any country or countries who would attack it, or any of the socialist states, would be vertiably erased from the surface of the earth even if the attack were unexpected. All of this presents a further proof of the directive of the XXIst congress on the definitive victory of socialism and on the invincibility of the socialist camp.

This important conclusion of the congress should not be understood from a narrow military view, but rather as an expression of the fact that the socialist camp has achieved such a degree of development of productive powers that it is able to solve the problem of its defence in view of the warlike designs of imperialism by, so to speak, a single blow, and at the same time release millions of hands and of financial means from unproductive employment forced on it by imperialist policies.

On the other hand, should the western powers decide not to follow the Soviet example, they will not only be revealed in the eyes of human masses as warmongers but they will also place a heavy burden on their own economy. Because this burden rests on the shoulders of the working masses, their rejection of the policies of armament and war preparation will be strengthened. "It is in this manner," says comrade Khrushchev, "that the great armies of the military alliance opposed to us are our unwitting allies, who will make the solution of our main task -- to outstrip the most progressive capitalist states in all directions -- so much easier...."

The present balance of powers gives rise to a unique situation in which even the imperialist means for intimidation and exploitation of the socialist camp have become allies of the more progressive social order. It would be hard to find a more eloquent proof of the senselessness of the imperialist "cold war."

And yet, comrade Khrushchev had to state that certain leading statesmen from the West, have not yet abandoned their position of power politics and brinkmanship, even though such a stand can lead only to an unavoidable fiasco. As usual, the most offensive is the behavior of Adenauer. By his irresponsible talk of "destruction" of the Soviet Union through war, and of the "special mission" of Western Germany in the war against communism, as well as by his fascist regime and stubborn resistance to a peaceful solution of the German question, he merely proves that the signing of a peace treaty with Germany and formation of a free city -- West Berlin, are pressing present day tasks which must be successfully negotiated at the meetings of chiefs of states, and must be carried out with greatest despatch.

Statements made by the representatives of the Bonn government betray a tenacious effort to prevent a separate agreement on the Berlin question and to fuse the solution of the abnormal situation in West Berlin, which falls into the jurisdiction of the Four Powers, with the problem of Germany as a whole, which can be solved today only by direct negotiation between the two German states.

To counteract the efforts of Adenauer's government to get the western members of the summit conference to identify themselves with its policy of cold war preservation and of destruction of the German negotiations, the Soviet Union, following the line confirmed by the XXIst Congress of the KSSS, steps up its effort to bring about a solution of the burning question of the German peace treaty and of West Berlin in a way which would be beneficial to the German people and to European peace. The Soviet proposals originate in the objective evaluation of present day conditions: first, that two German states are in existence and that due to the negative attitude of the Federal Republic there are no negotiations concerning their unification, and second, that a capitalist order rules West Berlin. Considering these facts it is necessary to sign a peace treaty with both of the German states and to offer West Berlin which lies within the German Democratic Republic, the status of a Free City.

Because it is impossible to be satisfied with this temporary status-quo which Adenauer would like to extend until a time when, he thinks, his revengeful state could swallow up the German Democratic Republic and forcibly change its borders with the neighboring nations, the Soviet Union and all the socialist states will have no alternative, in case of continued resistance to signing of dual peace treaties with each of the German states, but to sign, along with other states so disposed, a separate peace treaty with East Germany, and to solve the question of West Berlin on the same basis. Even this solution would contribute to the liquidation of that hotbed of war -- the still occupied West Berlin -- and would offer a peace treaty at least to a part of the German people. Thus, even in the German question, we can see the complete helplessness and sterility of the "cold war" policy.

The fruitlessness of this policy was generally exposed some time ago through international development. If socialism was able to grow into an invincible world system, if the Soviet Union was able to begin a broad buildup of communism and other socialist states achieved an advanced stage in the building of socialism, and if all this was accomplished in spite of all the war preparations and threats of imperialism, then it proves that socialism was always relatively more powerful than its immediate enemies and that the results of enemy attempts to unify forces for a crusade against the world of socialism were always delayed in starting of such a war by a lack of objective conditions. In relation to this we must remember the prominent part played by the Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other

socialist states in the present results of current evolution of international relations.

One thing is different from the past, and that is, that in several decisive directions the forces of socialism have an absolute superiority over imperialism. Even here, however, we must remember the balance of power consists of several factors and therefore we are not speaking e.g. of superiority in the volume of world industrial output which will be achieved only within the next 6 years. On the other hand, the socialist system has reached such a stage of development that there are no important differences in the levels gained in the separate, decisive sectors of its overall material and moral strength.

Under these circumstances the agents of imperialism are becoming conscious of the changes in the international situation, of the ineffectuality of the immediate concepts and methods of imperialist foreign policy and of the final collapse of the myth of the invulnerability of the United States -- the very core of imperialism. Recognition of the stupidity of the "cold war" policy is by no means a uniform or common. Because of this, attempts to continue on the same course mingle with the feat of its consequences. As comrade Khrushchev says, "It is because of this that we see many contradictory phenomena in the policies of the capitalistic states in which the tendency toward international cooperation is prominent at one moment and that toward increased tension at another."

The foremost ill of the shipwrecked policy of the "cold war" -- the neglect of objective realities -- has not been cured as yet by far. Because of this, we can hear questioning, as to whether the Soviet offer of peaceful coexistence should be accepted, in many of the speeches indicative of the West's effort to find a way out of this new situation. In this we can see a lack of understanding and disbelief in coexistence as an objective necessity lawfully emanating from the current conditions in the development of international relations, a necessity which becomes more pressing with each deeper change in the international situation brought about by further successes of the human struggle for peace.

That changes have occurred can be doubted only by politically blind men on the style of Adenauer, who has declared the lessening of international tension, achieved through the foreign policy of the socialist states, to be an "illusion."

That which did not change though, is the very character of imperialism and the final aims of its policy. The qualitative changes which took place in the international situation after the XXIIst Congress of the KSSS do not in any way mean a change in the quality of imperialism which maintains its inimical class relationship toward socialism. What has changed, however, are the conditions under which its class goals must be achieved. The startling changes in the balance of power between socialism and capitalism have convinced the more

serious political agents of the West only of the fact that under the circumstances it would be disastrous to press forward their interests by means of war.

In the book "Peace with Russia?" recently published by the well known, bourgeois politician, Averell Harriman, the certainty of the Soviet people of an eventual victory of communism throughout the world is considered a "threat." However, the author adds, "On the other hand, I have never believed and do not believe that war is inevitable in our effort to turn the process of social evolution away from communism." This point of view clearly betrays the class conscious limitations of the consequences which the imperialist camp is willing to consider as resulting from the current changes in international situation, showing the ineffectuality of war. In its own way it also proves that even peaceful coexistence is a form of class war which excludes any slacking in the ideological contest. We must keep in mind that many agents of bourgeois policy consider this new stage of negotiations as a period of rest, a temporary truce, during which they will be able to sway the balance of power in their favor, to weaken the unity of the socialist camp and finally to direct its further development toward a capitalist course. Such calculations can be seen even in one of the latest documents of the U.S. Senate Foreign Policy Committee which admits that at present it is no longer possible "to formulate national strategy which would guarantee a victory in the terms of full destruction of communism" and therefore the U.S. will strive for a "final change in the character of the competition, for a gradual change in Soviet policies."

If imperialism has to rely on such changes then it only admits its own helplessness in view of the objective evolutionary process.

Imperialism did not force any basic changes of Soviet even in times when the Soviet Union faced its stepped up pressure single handedly; hence it is even more ridiculous to expect such changes at a time when the Soviet Union is reaping the fruits of its more than 40 years old effort for peace. Imperialism's false hope of a change in the balance of power, of "catching up with and surpassing" the high level of Soviet science and technology, is in itself an admission of the staggering successes of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp since the XXIst Congress of the KSSS. For our own evaluation of these gains we do not need any illusions of a change in capitalism, of making a sheep out of a lion.

The fruits reaped within a single year by the XXIst Congress of the KSSS present in themselves many possibilities for further development of international situation toward a lasting peace. However, they are not the kind which would allow us to become careless or to rest in an inactive satisfaction. On the contrary they bid us to strengthen further the very conditions from which they have sprung.

World evolution can be lastingly aided only by a policy which is directed by its laws and which direct human action by its spirit. The far reaching changes in international situation which occurred since the XXIst Congress of the KSSS are an irrevocable proof that its conclusions and directives correspond fully to the basic tendencies of current social evolution. This is so because they were carefully deduced from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism -- the one truly scientific world opinion.

Without Marxism-Leninism not even the noblest desires nor the self-sacrificing enthusiasm of human masses would become a reality.

Both of the last congresses of the USSR which further developed the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the buildup of communism, on peaceful coexistence and on the definitive victory of socialism, are now reaping rich fruits, which in present day practice give justification to the rightness of their theoretical conclusions. Comparison with the poor results of the policies of imperialism and its ally revisionism fills us with rightful pride and complete trust in the future. The XXIst Congress of the KSSS made great strides to insure that the future will belong to communism.

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